

## Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS  
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SUBJECT: GROMYKO ON SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

FOLLOWING IS AN FRG ANALYSIS CIRCULATED AT NATO, OF GROMYKO'S MAY 14 SPEECH AT THE MOSCOW CEREMONY IN HONOR OF THE WARSAW PACT'S 20TH ANNIVERSARY

BEGIN TEXT\$:

1. AT THE WARSAW PACT ANNIVERSARY CEREMONY IN MOSCOW ON -4 MAY, MR. GROMYKO MADE A PROGRAMMATICAL SPEECH ON THE STATUS AND THE AIMS OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. THUS, THE ROLE OF MAIN SPEAKER AT IMPORTANT EVENTS HAS BEEN ASSIGNED TO THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER FOR THE THIRD TIME WITHIN A RELATIVELY SHORT PERIOD (THE OTHER TWO OCCASIONS WERE THE 57TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION ON 6 NOVEMBER 1974 AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE SPRING PLENUM ON 16 APRIL 1975). THE REASON FOR THIS PROBABLY LIES NOT ONLY IN THE PERSON OF MR. GROMYKO BUT IN THE DESIRE OF THE TOP PARTY LEADERSHIP TO USE THESE OCCASIONS FOR PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON THE PRESENT BASIC FOREIGN-POLICY POSITION OF THE SOVIET UNION.

2. ON THE WHOLE, GROMYKO'S SPEECH EXPRESSED SELF-CONFIDENCE AND SATISFACTION AT INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS. THERE IS A CERTAIN CONFIDENTIAL

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IDEOLOGICAL UNDERTONE, WHICH IS PROBABLY DUE TO THE FORTHCOMING 25TH CONGRESS OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY, WHOSE "HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE" WAS EMPHASIZED BY GROMYKO. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE SPEECH DOES NOT CONTAIN ANY POLEMICS OR SHARPNESS VIS-A-VIS

WESTERN COUNTRIES.

3. THE SPEECH CONCENTRATES ON THE IMPROVED COOPERATION OF THE SOCIALIST CAMP AND THE FUTURE TASKS OF DETENTE POLICY IN SOVIET EYES WHICH ARE DESCRIBED BY GROMYKO AS "DIFFICULT".

4. AMONG THE CONCRETE SUBJECTS, SPECIAL MENTION SHOULD BE MADE OF AC CRITICAL RESERVATION CONCERNING THE UNITED STATES, THE DETAILED NATURE AND THE CONTENTS OF THE PART DEALING WITH THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THE BREVITY AND RESTRAINT VIS-A-VIS INDOCHINA. MENTION SHOULD ALSO BE MADE OF THE FREQUENT REFERENCES TO MR. BREZHNEV.

5. THE FOLLOWING MORE SPECIFIC DETAILS OF THE SPEECK ARE OF PARTICULAR INTEREST:

CSCE

6. IT WAS TIME TO WIND UP CSCE IN ORDER TO OBTAIN, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, THE BLESSINGS OF THE HIGHEST LEVEL FOR THE DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE. THESE DECISIONS ARE INTEGRATED INTO THE COMMUNIST CONCEPT BY REFERRING TO THEM AS "PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE". MR. BROMYKO EMPHASIZED THAT THE NEXT TASK AFTER THE END OF THE CONFERENCE CONSISTS IN THE "PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONFERENCE DECISIONS". THIS CONFIRMS THAT A GREAT SOVIET "FULFILMENT" CAMPAIGN WILL HAVE TO BE EXPECTED.

MBFR

7. GROMYKO SAID THAT AGREEMENT WAS POSSIBLE IF THE WESTERN PARTNERS GAVE UP THEIR PRESSURE FOR "UNILATERAL MILITARY ADVANTAGES" AND ACCPTED AN ARRANGEMENT WHICH DOES NOT PROVIDE FOR "ONE-SIDED SECURITY DISADVANTAGE FOR ONE SIDE".

USSR-USA

8. GROMYKO COMMENTS IN DETAIL ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE WORLD POWERS FOR PEACE AND EMPHASIZES THE SOVIET CONFIDENTIAL

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READINESS TO CONTINUE THESE RELATIONS POSITIVELY. HOWEVER, HE MAKES A RESERVATION: THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NEVER "SACRIFIVE THE SOVEREIGNTY AND DIGNITY AND OF SOCIALIST STATE, THE PRINCIPLES OF OUR SOCIALIST FOEIGN POLICY AND THE INTERESTS OF OUR ALLIES IN THE WARSAW PACT TO THIS OR THAT PASSING INTEREST".

9. THIS THREEFOLD RESTRICTION, OF WHICH ONLY THE FIRST APPEARS TO HAVE ANY BEARING ON THE LINK BETWEEN TRADE AND EMIGRATION, POSSIBLY ONLY REPRESENTS AN OBLIGATORY IDEOLOGICAL EXERCISE WITHIN HIS OWN CAMP, BUT COULC ALSO BE TAKEN AS A WARNING TO THE WEST NOT TO COUNT TOO MUCH ON SOVIET RESTRAINT IN THE EXPLOITATION OR WESTERN WEAKNESSES IN THEINTEREST OF DETENTE.

VIETNAM

10. IN GENERAL BUT BRIEF LANGUAGE, GROMYKO WELCOMES THE "GREAT VICTORY OF THE HEROIC VIETNAMESE PEOPLE" AND CALLS ATTENTION TO THE HELP FROM THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. HE REFRAINS FROM ALL CRITICISM OF THE UNITED STATES AND FROM ALL REFERENCES TO THE FUTURE OF VIETNAM. CAMBODIA AND LAOS ARE NOT MENTIONED.

MIDDLE EAST

11. THE FOLLOWING POINTS ARE OF INTEREST:

12. GROMYKO REPEATS HIS OFFER TO ISRAEL-WHICH IS MENTIONED SEVERAL TIMES, BUT RELATIVELY NON-POLEMICALLY-TO GRANT IT "AN ADEQUATE GUARANTEE OF ITS SECURITY INTERESTS", PROVIDED THAT ISRAEL ACTED PEACEFULLY, RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE TO SET UP A STATE OF ITS OWN, AND ABANDON ITS AMBITIONS FOR ANNEXATIONS.

13. GROMYKO CONDEMNS THE STEP-BY-STEP POLICY IN A FORM WHICH IS SEPARATE FROM THE PROCESS OF AN OVERALL SOLUTION. SUCH STEPS DID NOT LEAD CLOSER TO BUT AWAY FROM A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. HE ADVOCATES THE RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE WITHOUT GIVING ANY DATE, BUT EMPHASIZES THE NEED FOR CAREFUL PREPARATION AND A SERIOUS ATTITUDE TOWARDS ITS TASKS AND ADDS THAT ALL THE CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS WERE NOT YET PREPARED TO DO SO (THIS IS LIKELY TO BE ANOTHER OF THE USUAL SOVIET STATEMENTS OF EXASPERATION AT ARAB LACK OF UNITY).

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CYPRUS

14. TWO REMARKS ARE OF INTEREST: CYPRUS OWED THE MAINTENANCE OF ITS INDEPENDENCE TO THE SUPPORT OF THE WARSAW PACT. ON THE OTHER HAND, GROMYKO'S STATEMENT THAT A SOLUTION WOULD HAVE TO MEET THE INTERESTS OF BOTH NATIONALITIES, THE GREEKS AND THE TURKS, CONTAINS A CONSTRUCTIVE ELEMENT.

CHINA AND JAPAN

15. WHILE, AS FAR AS CHINA ITSELF IS CONCERNED, GROMYKO ONLY REFERS TO THE WELL-KNOWN PARTY ATTITUDE, HE SPENDS A STRIKING AMOUNT OF TIME TO PEKING'S ATTEMPTS TO HARNESS JAPAN BEFORE ITS ANTI-SOVIET WAGON AND EMPHASIZES THAT THIS WOULD BE IN CONFLICT WITH THE REAL SECURITY INTERESTS OF JAPAN WITH WHICH THE SOVIET UNION WANTED GOOD-NEIGHBOURLY RELATIONS. THE DISPUTE ABOUT THE "ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE" IS NOT EXPLICITLY REFERRED TO, NOR IS ANY MENTION MADE OF THE QUESTION OF THE DURILES.

16. IT IS STRIKING THAT GROMYKO IS SILENT ABOUT THE EFFORTS FOR THE ORGANISATIONAL STREAMLINING OF THE WARSAW PACT, AS WELL AS ABOUT THE PROJECT FOR A EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE.

IT MAY BE SUPPOSED THAT THIS IS DUE TO DIFFICULTIES IN THE PREPARATION OF THE CONFERENCE, AS A RESULT OF DIVERGENCIES OF VIEWS WITH AUTONOMIST PARTIES.

END TEXT

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